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ABSTRACT

This study is a description of the linguistic differences between three Persian dialects. The underlying aim of the study is to provide the linguistic facts necessary to evaluate the implications of divergence between the dialects for students of Persian. It would appear that if students experience difficulty in adjusting from one dialect to another, a revision of teaching policies would be in order. This revision would provide either instruction in three separate dialects, or some sort of "core" Persian to which the features that distinguish one dialect from another could be added. The study looks at both the Standard Persian spoken in Iran, Afghanistan, and the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic, and at three colloquial dialects, Tehrani, Kabuli, and Varzobi. This is due to the fact that the standard languages are restricted to the sociolects of writing and formal speech, and a description of them alone would not include varieties used in ordinary conversation. The following aspects of the dialects are described: (1) phonology, specifically vowels, consonants, semivowels, and stress; (2) morphology, specifically nominal affixes, pronouns, demonstratives and indefinites, numerals, and verbs; and (3) lexicon. (CLK)

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Jacqueline Wei

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DIALECTAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THREE STANDARD VARIETIES OF PERSIAN

TEHRAN, KABUL, AND TAJIK

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INTRODUCTION

THIS STUDY is a description of the linguistic differences between three Persian dialects. The underlying aim of such a description is to provide the linguistic part of the facts necessary to evaluate the implications of the divergence between the dialects for the student of Persian. Somewhat rephrased, the problem has been that students of one dialect have difficulty adjusting to another dialect. Accordingly, it seems necessary to revise teaching policies, either by having instruction in three separate dialects, or by modifying the contents of one course to provide some sort of "core" Persian[1] to which it would be possible to add those features which distinguish one dialect from another.

For successful execution of such an evaluation, it is necessary to have extra-linguistic information about the degree of competence a student is expected to have in Persian (either in one dialect, or in the "core" language mentioned above) and about the nature of intelligibility, mutual or one-way, between two non-identical speech forms.[2] It is also necessary, however, to have information about the linguistic forms and constructions which are not the same in the dialects. The optimal description, in fact, would assign to the various facts some ranking of importance, based on the linguistic structure. It is quite clear that a phonetic, or even phonemic, difference will not obstruct communication to as great an extent as a syntactic difference on a major constituent level.[3] Such a description, however, is not possible without separate, complete analyses of the dialects, which have already accounted for some ordering of the facts. As analyses of this sort are not available, the present study is limited to a description of the differences, with no attempt to estimate their relative importance with regard to communication. However, in order to provide some context in which to place the differences to be described, brief, general sketches of the rest of the grammar will be included.

The three dialects studied here are Persian[4], Afghan, and Tajik. These names, which are the ones generally used in the literature, do not correspond to three distinct dialects, nor even three dialect groups which are established by linguistic differences; they are based instead on the geographical location of the dialects within the three countries in which Persian is spoken.[5] Dialects on the peripheries of one country may more closely resemble neighboring dialects which are located across the political boundary than other dialects found in the same country. For example, some dialects found in western Afghanistan and therefore called Afghan are more similar to some eastern (Iranian) Persian dialects; Tajik dialects in the south of Tajikistan resemble more closely certain Afghan dialects spoken in the northern region of Afghanistan. However, as it is not the purpose of this study to conduct a survey of the Persian dialects, the scope of these names will be restricted to the varieties described below.

In each of these countries, there is a more or less standardized dialect, which will be referred to in this study as the Standard language[6] or the Standard. Since these Standard languages are spoken and understood over a greater area than any one of the other dialects, a major part of the study will be devoted to the description of the differences existing between them.

The Standard languages are based largely on the classical language, which is most widely known and best exemplified in the poetry of the tenth-fourteenth centuries.[7] As evidenced from its name, the Standard language is the accepted literary sociolect and is used with minor stylistic variations in official communications, newspapers, novels, scholarly writing, on the radio, and in lectures and formal speeches. It is also used, with some deviation towards the Colloquial, in more or less formal conversations, especially if the topic falls in the category of 'culture'. The degree of positive command of the Standard language depends of course on the educational background of the individual.

The Standard languages, however, are restricted to the sociolect of writing or of formal speech; a description of these would not, therefore, include those varieties used in ordinary conversation. Although there is no informal spoken language that can be considered standardized in the same sense as the Standard language described above, the dialects of certain cities or regions are of greater practical significance, either because of their diffusion beyond the geographical area of their origin, or because of the existence of certain linguistic characteristics, which make them more intelligible to speakers of other dialects. Corresponding to the three Standard languages, therefore, three Colloquial dialects will also be studied: Tehrani, Kabuli, and Varzobi.

The use of the Colloquials is not homogeneously characterized; they resemble each other only in their use in conversation. The Persian Colloquial, which is based on the Tehran dialect, is the informal style of educated persons in Iran. Although there may be some differences depending on the original dialect of the speaker, this sociolect is more or less the same for all educated persons. The other Persian dialects, in contrast, are often strikingly divergent from each other. The increased prestige of Tehrani has been reflected by a corresponding increase in its use by speakers outside of Tehran. The same social

elevation can undoubtedly also explain the use of the Persian Colloquial in increasingly formal conversational situations.

The Afghan Colloquial studied here is the Kabuli dialect as described by Hodge and Farhadi. It is, however, much less of a lingua franca than the Persian Colloquial. Moreover, its use is restricted almost entirely to informal conversations about every-day situations and has not been extended 'up' the sociological scale in the way that the Persian Colloquial has. It should be noted, however, that because of the influx of speakers of other dialects into Kabul, this dialect has incorporated forms from these other dialects (the reverse process has of course also occurred). Because of the number of loans and because of Kabul's position as an important political and cultural center, it is to be expected that Kabuli would be more widely understood than many other more isolated Afghan dialects. It is also probably the case that residents of Kabul are more adept at adjusting to a new dialect since they would more often find themselves in a situation requiring cross-dialectal communication.

The Tajik Colloquial to be studied is the dialect spoken in the village of Varzob, which is situated approximately twenty miles from Stalinabad, the capital of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic. It has been selected to represent the Tajik Colloquial not only because of its proximity to Stalinabad, but also because of its central location in Tajikistan and its character of an intermediate dialect, with features of both North and Central dialects. Furthermore, it has been more exhaustively studied than any of the others, both in Rastorgueva's general description and in Sokolova's detailed studies of the phonetics.

In addition to the Tajik Colloquial, there is a Standard Spoken Tajik, which is for the most part described as the same as the written Standard. It is claimed to be the spoken language of the intelligentsia, but no details are offered about the situations in which it is used. On the basis of the other two dialects, it seems reasonable to assume that even the intelligentsia do not adhere to the Standard language in all situations, and that a more colloquial variety is employed in conversing about household matters, for example. Features in which the Spoken Standard differs from the written will be noted when the information is available.

The description of the differences between these dialects and sociolects, which constitutes the rest of this study, is divided into the following sections and subsections:

1. Phonology: Introduction, Vowels, Consonants, Semivowels, Stress.
2. Morphology: Introduction, Nominal Affixes, Pronouns, Demonstratives and Indefinites, Numerals, Verbs.
3. Lexicon

A brief description of other, shared features is included only where such information is felt to be helpful for comprehension.

PHONOLOGY

This section on the sound systems describes both their similarities and their differences. In general, it can be noted that at least as seen from the structural charts and transcriptional symbols, the vowel systems are considerably more different from each other, and also from that of the older language, than are the consonant systems. Although the phonetic differences are not as striking as would appear from the differences in symbols, the standard transcriptions are used here to maintain some degree of comparability between this study and others. Hence, the discussion of vowels will include a chart showing the correspondnece of symbols. A chart, however, can only express the main correspondences. Thus, more restricted correspondences are explained in the following discussion of particular vowels.

In addition to the correspondence chart and rules, however, there will be a discussion of the phonetics of each vowel, which will make it clear that the vowels are much more similar than the symbolization would suggest.

The consonant systems, on the other hand, are almost identical in notation as well as in phonetics, the few cases of differences in the consonant systems being reflected by a corresponding difference in the symbolic representation.

Vowels

The vowel correspondences can best be considered in terms of their relationship to a set of vowels reconstructable[8] for an earlier stage of the language.

	Persian	Afghan	Tajik
*i	e	e	i
*i:	i	i	i
*e:	i	e:	e
*u	o	o	u
*u:	u	u	u
*o:	u	o:	o̊ u
*a	ä, (e,o)	a	a
*a:	a, (u)	a:	o

The most general change that can be noted is the loss, partial or total, of the distinctive opposition of length. In the older language, the members of three pairs of vowels were apparently distinguished primarily by the difference of duration: *i - *i:, *u - *u:, *a - *a:. In Persian and Tajik, this feature is preserved only to the extent that the old short vowels are shorter than the original long vowels in the sole position of a pre-stress open syllable. This feature is the basis of the classification of vowels as 'stable' or 'instable' in the Russian descriptions. However, since the vowels in both Tajik and Persian are definable solely in terms of the articulatory positional features of tongue height and retraction, the 'stable' - 'instable' feature is redundant, and therefore phonemically unnecessary.

In this connection, it should be noted that the stability characteristic does not totally correspond to the old feature of length in Tajik since the reflexes of *i: and *u: have fallen together with the reflexes of *i and *u and are classified with the short vowel reflexes as 'instable'.

In Afghan, length is preserved with some modifications. *i: and *u: are no longer phonemically long vowels, i.e. are not the long counterparts of short i and u. Instead, the feature of length serves to distinguish the reflexes of *i and *u from those of *e: and *o: respectively, since the former have been lowered from the high position to a somewhat lower one.

For the reflexes of the low vowels *a and *a:, length is also nonphonemic in Tajik and Persian. The Persian reflexes, ӕ, a, are phonetically described as low front (unrounded) and low back (rounded) respectively. Rounding is of less fundamental status than fronting, and the degree of rounding in the reflex of *a: (Persian a) varies considerably from speaker to speaker. In its more rounded variant, Persian a is very similar to the Tajik reflex of *a, o, which is described as the same as the Russian o but without the on-glide. The rounded variety of Persian a is like the English vowel, ɔ, in, for example, 'caught'.

The Persian reflex of *a is e

1. in stressed, final open syllable, e.g. xane 'house' < *xa:na
2. before y, e.g. ney 'reed' < *nay

Parallel to the raising and fronting of *a to e before y is the raising and back rounding of *a to o before w, e.g. row 'go' < *raw.

The reflex of *a: before nasals in the Persian Colloquial (and in some other dialects) is u, e.g. xune 'house' (Standard xane).

In Afghan, the length feature plays a substantially greater role in distinguishing the reflexes of *a and *a: than in either Persian or Tajik, since Afghan a and a: are less different in place of articulation. a is phonetically more similar to the Tajik a than to the Persian ӕ in that it is less fronted. Furthermore, Afghan a: is strikingly unrounded in comparison to the Tajik, though it approaches some unrounded varieties of Persian a. Another fact enhancing the role of length in this opposition is that the result of the lengthening of Afghan a (due to the loss of h, ʔ) is a:,

while the results of the same process in Persian and Tajik are different from the reflexes of *a: (e.g. Persian äh ä:, not a).

Since Afghan a and a: are phonetically very similar, both being central-unrounded, although a is somewhat front-tended and a: slightly more backed, and because of the existence of the length feature elsewhere in the vowel system, it seems most appropriate to analyze these two vowels as belonging to the length opposition. It should be borne in mind, however, that there are somewhat greater phonetic differences between a and a: than between e and e: or o and o:, and furthermore, that the phonetics of a are very similar to Tajik a and the phonetics of a: not too different from some types of Persian a.

The reflexes of the high and mid vowels, as mentioned above, have undergone rather striking structural redistribution. Afghan preserves the three front and three back vowels but transfers the length opposition to the reflexes of *i - *e: and *u - *o:, in place of older *i - *i: and *u - *u:. In Persian, the reflexes of the long vowels, *i: and *e:, *u: and *o:, have fallen together, becoming i and u respectively. The short vowels *i and *u are preserved as separate phonemes e and o respectively. In Tajik, on the contrary, the reflexes of the high vowels have fallen together, and the long mid vowels are preserved as separate phonemes: *i and *i: > i, *u and *u: > u, *e: > e, *o: > ů.

As *a is raised to e before y, the reflex of *i in Persian is raised to i (falling in with the reflex of *i:) before y; e.g. biya 'come!' < *bi-ya! (contrasting with neya, one of the plurals of ney 'reed' < *nay); cf. be-row where be- < *bi.

In Varzobi, however, the reflex of *o: is inconsistently preserved, with three groups of speakers classified according to the status of ů in their speech: (1) always preserve ů in words like růz, gůr, durůg; (2) have doublets with ů or u in these words, růz - ruz, gůr - gur, durůg - durug; (3) always use u in these words, ruz, gur, durug; moreover, in some words, u has replaced ů in all

speakers' speech, su 'side', sum 'rubble', xur 'eat!'. Nor does ŭ ever exist in closed syllables before ʔ or h.

In general, most of the Tajik dialects do not have the reflex of *o: as a phoneme distinct from the reflex u of *u and *u:. Exceptions are the dialects of Samarqand, and the southern dialects, which would be expected to have some of the features of the various Afghan dialects. Varzobi represents an intermediate stage, and the fluctuation of the use of ŭ in Varzobi speech is explained as due to the strong influence of Kulabi, a neighboring dialect in which ŭ is absent.

In Kabuli, it should be noted that the reflex of *e: is merged with the reflex of *i: in some words, and parallelly, that of *o: with *u:. A number of words which have alternants in final -o: or -o:y in the Standard have only -uy in Kabuli, e.g., Kabuli ruy 'face', muy 'hair', buy 'smell, odor', juy 'stream': Standard ro:(y), mo:(y), bo:(y), jo:(y). The same words are found with the diphthong in Standard Persian and with the plain vowel in Colloquial Persian: Tehrani ru, mu, bu, ju: Standard ruy, muy, buy, juy.

The Kabuli situation is undoubtedly due to borrowing from dialects in which *i: and *e:, *u: and *o:, have become merged, for example, the Herati dialect which is spoken closer to the Iranian border. Furthermore, the reflexes of the diphthongs *ay and *aw fall together in some words with those of *e: and *o: e.g. pe:wand (Persian: peyvand). This probably can also be explained as the result of dialect borrowing from dialects where *ay and *aw have become ey/e: and ow/o:.

Also in Kabuli, e and o before the corresponding semivowels, y and w, are generally dropped in the position after consonants in open pre-stress syllable, e.g. sya: 'black', Standard seya:h; swa:l 'question', Standard sowa:l. Other vowels in this position before the semivowels are more sporadically dropped, e.g. dya: (< de:-ya:) 'villages', Standard deh-ha:; jwa:n 'youth', (or jowa:n), Standard jawa:n.

Before y in open pre-stress syllable, the Persian reflex of *i is i rather than e, e.g. siyah 'black'. The sequence of ey occurs only in closed syllables, except in a certain rapid style of the Colloquial where h or ʔ may drop resulting in a sequence eyV < eyhV, e.g. neya 'reeds' < neyha. Final vowels in the older language were apparently not distinguished as to length, with the result that in Persian, the reflex of *i and *u may correspond to the Afghan reflex of *i: or *e:, *u: or *o:, e.g. Persian to 'you (sg.)': Afghan Standard to:, Afghan Colloquial tu; Persian ke 'who': Afghan ki. (Compare however, Persian ke 'that': Afghan ke.) The problem does not arise for Tajik since the short and long *i and *i:, *u and *u: have fallen together.

Consonants

The following table expresses the relationship of consonants according to manner and position of articulation. Only those consonants found in at least one variety of all three dialects have been included; the information provided by the chart is felt to be sufficient for these consonants in view of the scope of the study. Other marginal sounds are discussed more fully in the following text.

		Labial	Dento-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Post-Velar	Glottal
Stops	voiceless	p	t	c	k	q	
	voiced	b	d	j	g		
Fricatives	voiceless	f	s	š	x		h
	voiced		z	ž			
Nasals		m	n				
Liquids			l,r				
Semivowel			y				

In addition to these, both Tajik and Afghan have a voiced ounterpart to x, the voiced velar fricative phoneme ǧ. In Persian, there is a sound ǧ, which, however, is part of the phoneme q and occurs

finally after vowels and intervocalically. ɢ may be analyzed as the voiced counterpart of x in Persian but this analysis of course is not possible for the other two.

The glottal stop ʔ, is found consistently only in Standard Persian. Information about its status in Standard Afghan is not available. In Standard Tajik, it occurs only in very careful speech and is more commonly realized as mere cessation of voice or zero, e.g. careful daf'a 'time', daf-a, dafa. In the position after a consonant, the voice interruption is distinguished from zero primarily in the different position of the syllable boundary. The original syllable break occurs after the consonant preceding the glottal stop, and this position is preserved in the variant with the cessation of voice, while in the other variant it shifts to the position before the consonant, e.g. daf-a vs. da-fa.

The voiceless glottal spirant, h, is found in all sociolects except Kabuli. In Varzobi, moreover, it can even replace the consonant ɛ. In the Afghan Colloquial, h and ʔ are lost everywhere. In the Persian Colloquial, h and ʔ tend to be dropped in certain positions, which are similar to most of the environments in which these sounds are lost in Kabuli. The loss of these consonants, moreover, have similar results in the two dialects. In order to bring out the parallels, there is a joint presentation of the environments of the loss of h and ʔ which are characteristic of both dialects. The description is to be understood as absolute for Kabuli (unless stated otherwise) and always optional in Persian. Its applicability in Persian is, for the most part, a function of the degree of informality and rapidity.

Loss of h and ʔ in Persian and Afghan.

1. Intervocalically, resulting in
   a. inserted semivowel: (unless both vowels are *a or *a:) in Persian, for ʔ only.
      (1) Persian: faʔede 'advantage' > fayede; qäwaʔed 'rules' > qäwayed.

(2) Afghan: y next to high front vowels, e, e:, i; w next to high back, rounded vowels, o, o:, u:

(a) with vowel in stressed syllable

ʔ qawa:ʔed 'rules (for military march)' > qawa:yed.

h xa:hes 'wish' > xayes.

(b) with vowel in pre-stress syllable

Vowel + Semivowel

ʔ fa:ʔeda 'advantage' > fa:yeda > fa:yda.

h sa:heb 'sir' > sa:yeb > sa:yb.

Semivowel + Vowel.

ʔ ši?a 'Shiite' > šiya > šya;

so?a:l 'question' > sowa:l > swa:l.

h nasihat 'advice' > nasiyat > nasyat;

uha: 'they' > uwa: > wa:.

b. sequence of vowels in Persian.

sa?ät 'hour' > saät

sähär 'dawn' > säär

c. contraction of vowels in Afghan.

sa:?at 'hour' > sa:t;

sahar 'dawn' > sa:r.

2. As first member of consonant cluster results in the lengthening of the preceding vowel.

Persian še?r 'poetry' > še:r;

sähr 'city' > šä:r;

tä?rif 'praise' > tä:rif.

fähmidän 'to understand' > fä:midän.

Afghan še?r 'poetry' > se:r.

šahr 'city' > šar.

ta?rif 'praise' > ta:rif.

fahmidan 'to understand' > fa:midan.

3. Finally, after vowels, may result in the lengthening of the preceding vowel.

Persian väsi? 'extensive' > väsi ~ vasi:;

šah 'Shah' > ša ~ ša:.

Afghan ta:le? 'forture' > ta:le ~ ta:le:.
dah 'ten' > da ~ da:.

4. As second member of final consonant cluster.
   a. ? in Kabuli is lost with no secondary effects: jam? 'addition' > jam.
   b. ? in Persian, and h in both, result in the lengthening of the preceding vowel.

   Persian ? jam? 'addition' > ja:m.
   h sobh 'morning' > so:b.

   Afghan h sobh 'morning' > so:b.

   In Persian, however, h and ? are restored with the addition of a vowel: sobhi 'pertaining to morning'.

5. As second member of medial consonant cluster, h is lost:
   a. Only in a few words in Persian - mäšhäd > mäšäd
   b. Everywhere in Afghan.

In Varzobi, where the glottal stop is etymologically an 'ain in Arabic[9], the older generation may have an entirely new phoneme not found in any of the other sociolects nor in the Classical language, ɛ , a voiced back pharyngeal fricative[10]. This phoneme is of very low frequency, however, even in this style of speech, with only a few examples of its occurrence: ɛilm 'science', ɛumr 'life', jamo ɛ at 'assembly', ma ɛ mur 'comfortable'. Each of these examples can also be pronounced without ɛ , e.g. ilm, umr. In the speech of the younger generations, this phoneme has totally disappeared, with most literate speakers adopting the literary pronunciation (i.e. glottal stop, cessation of voice, or total loss). Between vowels, however, in some words, ɛ may also be replaced by h, e.g. sohat < so ɛ at 'hour', mahmur 'comfortable' < ma ɛ mur.

ɛ is found in some other Tajik dialects, though the southern dialects are all characterized by its absence, but in general, this phoneme is being replaced by the variants described for the Standard language. The exceptions to this trend are the Jewish Tajik dialects (in Samarqand etc.), where the pronunciation doublets, with or without ɛ , are not permitted, with only ɛ occurring and where this phoneme has even been extended to words of Iranian origin.

In addition to h, Varzobi has a phoneme, ḥ which is the voiceless counterpart to ʕ . Like ʕ , it is of low frequency, and is found only in words of Arabic origin, corresponding to the Arabic pharyngeal fricative ʕ . It may occur wherever it is etymological, but may also always be replaced by h. Its frequency in the speech of an individual is determined by two opposing factors, (1) the influence of the Standard, which does not have this phoneme: (2) traditional pronunciation, characterized by ḥ. Although the Standard language forms are more prestigious, and though the ḥ variants carry a nuance of provincialism, the latter are perpetuated by the strong influence of Kulabi, a neighboring dialect in which ḥ is of great frequency. As in the case of ʕ , ḥ is always used in Arabic words where ʕ occurs and has been extended to words of Iranian origin.

Semivowels

In the older language, there were two semivowels, *y and *w, occurring in all positions. These are preserved in Afghan as y and w. In Tajik, *y is preserved, but *w in all positions becomes the labio-dental voiced fricative, with the exception of the position after vowels, where it remains phonetically a labial semivowel. The Persian situation is more complicated in that there are two reflexes of *w, w and v. The former occurs largely only after vowels, before consonants or pause. The latter occurs initially and intervocalically. However, w and v cannot be analyzed as variants of one phoneme since w can also appear intervocalically though in a limited number of cases, e.g. bazuwa 'arms', formal speech bazuwan 'arms', pisrowan 'leaders', xune-wo 'house and'. It should be noted, however, that the occurrence of intervocalic w is almost always limited to its appearance as a connective between two vowels at morpheme boundaries. Exceptions to this distributional restriction are forms found in the rapid Colloquial where the loss of ʔ results in a sequence owV < owʔV (cf. situation where eyV < eyhV) e.g. nowe 'sort' + ezafe < nowʔe (nowʔ+e), contrasting with nove 'new' + ezafe (now + e). In summary, Persian w and v correspond to Afghan w and Tajik v.

In addition, the following structural changes can be noted. In Afghan, the original system is preserved, with two semivowels, y and w. In Tajik, although the original *w remains one phoneme, because of its phonetic development into the labio-dental fricative, v, it has become the voiced counterpart to f, and is no longer analyzed as a semivowel. Tajik, therefore has only one semivowel, y. In Persian, one reflex of *w is phonetically the same as that in Tajik and occupies the same structural position of voiced counterpart to f; the other reflex, w, remains a semivowel.

A striking aspect of the developments of the dialects is the increased use of the semivowels resulting from the loss of h and ʔ. This is especially characteristic of the Persian and Afghan Colloquials. Another important feature of the semivowels is their morphophonemic function; y in particular is the most common inserted element between two vowels at morpheme boundaries, e.g. before the verb endings after stems ending in vowels (see verb section).

Stress[11]

In general, stress in all three dialects is predictable on the basis of grammatical classes. Because of the high degree of its predictability, given certain grammatical facts, it will be marked in this study only in cases of exceptions to the general rules for its occurrence. For some classes (see below) it will always have to be indicated.

Nominals,[12] independent pronouns, ordinal numbers, and adverbs in -ĕn/-an/-an are always stressed on the last syllable, e.g. (cited in Persian form) Noun: ketáb 'book', Adjective: bozórg 'big', Independent pronoun: šomá 'you (pl)', Ordinal number: panjóm 'fifth', Adverb: fowrán 'immediately'. Cardinal numbers are also stressed finally (though many of the non-compound numbers e.g. bist, are only one syllable in length), e.g. dó 'two', cahár 'four', haf(t) sád 'seven hundred', hezár 'thousand'. The enclitic pronoun suffixes are, of course, atonic, though some northern Tajik dialects are unusual in having stressed pronoun suffixes.

Verbs in Persian and Afghan generally have recessive stress. The prefixes, mi-/me:, be-/be-, nă-/na-, are always stressed, with the exception that mi-/me:- is unstressed if preceded by the negative prefix. In Tajik, however, me- and na- have secondary stress. For Persian and Afghan, in forms without these prefixes, the last syllable of the verb is stressed, e.g. Persian ămád-ăm 'I came', Afghan a:mád-am (Colloquial a:mad-om); Persian răfté-ăm 'I have gone'; Afghan raftá-am (but Colloquial rafté:m). The personal endings are never stressed in Persian and Afghan except in the contracted forms of the perfect (see verb section). In Tajik, on the contrary, the endings are described as always stressed except in the simple past for which there is an alternative form with the last syllable of the stem stressed, e.g. omad-ém ~ omád-am 'I came'. However, in Varzobi, the endings of the suppositional forms are not stressed: in other words, the last syllable of the past participle in -gi receives the primary stress, e.g. me-xondagí-stam. Furthermore, although it is not specifically so stated in the descriptions, it appears unlikely that the endings of the perfect forms are stressed since they are equated with the verbal copula which is unstressed. Therefore, in Tajik, the perfect tenses would also have stress on the last syllable of the stem (= participle) except, as for Persian and Afghan, in the contracted forms. In the northern Tajik dialects, however, the verbal copula can be stressed, and even the so-called 'enclitic' pronoun suffixes are stressed.

Grammatical suffixes occurring with substantives (see morphology) are either stressed or atonic. These can be listed: Stressed: plural -há/-há:/-hó and -án ~ -ún/-á:n/-ón; comparative and superlative -tăr/-tár/-tár, -tărín/-tarín/-tarín. Unstressed: indefinite -i/-e:/-e; object -ra/-ra:/-ro; ezafe -e/-e/-i.

Derivative suffixes are stressed. Derivative prefixes are unstressed.

The following classes of words have non-predictable stress: prenouns, prepositions, sentence words, conjunctions, particles. Some prenouns (= demonstratives, interrogatives, indefinites) can be stressed in certain constructions; others are always unstressed,

e.g. Persian hăr 'each'.

Some of the most common prepositions which are not followed by the ezafe are unstressed, e.g. Persian be 'to', ba 'with'. The ezafe prepositions are stressed on the syllable preceding the ezafe, e.g. Persian bara-ye 'for'.

Sentence words and conjunctions are either stressed finally or have recessive stress. An exception is the conjunction, -o-/-o-/-u- 'and', which is atonic.

Particles are generally unstressed, e.g. Persian -ke = emphatic particle; Tajik -mi = interrogative particle.

MORPHOLOGY

This section is a discussion of the differences in the morphological systems of the dialects. The major word classes of the three dialects are: (1) Nominals (Nouns and Adjectives); (2) Pronouns; (3) Demonstratives and Indefinites; (4) Numerals; (5) Verbs; (6) Adverbs; (7) Conjunctions; (8) Sentence Words.

Nouns and Adjectives have identical functions and occur with the same affixes, with the one exception that Adjectives can be used with the comparative and superlative suffixes. In meaning and function, they resemble English nouns and adjectives.

Pronouns occur in two sets: Independent and Suffix (or enclitic). The Independent Pronouns are used as subject, object, or possessor. As subject, they are optional and are served as emphasis, as the subject of the verb is expressed in the endings. As object or possessor, they are largely interchangeable with the Suffix Pronouns. The Suffix Pronouns are used with Verbs to express the object (direct or indirect) of the Verbs, and with Nominals as the possessor of the Nominal: e.g. Persian didäm-ät 'I saw you'; Persian ketab-äm 'my book'.

Demonstratives and Indefinites are either pronoun-like in that they occur by themselves or adjective-like in that they function as modifier. In the latter role, they differ from adjectives by their position before the modified and their inability to combine with the comparative and superlative suffixes.

As in English, there are three sets of numerals: cardinal, ordinal, and fractional.

Verbs consist of personal endings suffixed to a stem which is inflected for tense, aspect, and mood by means of changes in the stem, auxiliary verbs, and/or prefixes.

Adverbs are defined by their syntactic function of modifying verbs or phrases and do not differ in shape from adjectives except in a limited number of cases which are characterized by the ending -än/-an/-an.

Conjunctions, as in English, are elements which link words, phrases, and sentences.

Sentence words include exclamations such as enšalla 'God willing' and others like bäli 'yes', Persian näxeyr 'no', Tajik ne 'no', Afghan ne 'no'.

The rest of this chapter examines the following classes, in which dialectal differences are found: (1) Nouns (affixes); (2) Pronouns

(Independent and Suffix); (3) Demonstratives and Indefinites; (4) Numerals (fractional); (5) Verbs (stem inflection and personal endings).

Nominal Affixes

Most of the variants in form are reflections of the Standard-Colloquial dichotomy rather than of the dialect difference. The indefinite marker in the Standard is regularly -i/-e:/-e after consonants, -ʔi and e: after vowels for Persian and Afghan respectively. The Tajik post-vocalic form is uncertain because of the writing system and is either -ye or -e. In the Colloquial, Persian has either -yi or -i after vowels. Kabuli has -e as well as -e: after consonants. As with the ezafe (see p. 20), final -a + -e (/-e:) > -e: The forms after all other vowels are -ye, -ye: and -y.

The object marker is regularly in the Standard -ra/-ra/-ro. The Colloquial is characterized by the following forms.

Persian

(1) -ra, -ro, -re after all phonemes. Final -e may become -ä before this suffix: män 'I, me' may have the form mä before this suffix, e.g. mä-ra.

(2) -o, -e after all phonemes except -e, -ä, -a.
-a after all phonemes except -e.
After -u, -o, -a, the variants -o, -e, -a have inserted -w- or -v-: e.g. -owo, -ave etc.).
After -i, these variants have inserted -y-, e.g. -iyo.

Kabuli

(1) -ra after vowels.
(2) -a after consonants.

Tajik

(1) -ro seldom used in spoken language anywhere.
(2) -ra after vowels (after consonants only in folklore lg.).
(3) -a after consonants.
(4) Spoken Tajik also has the variant -ya after vowels.

The most common plural suffix, which is by far the most frequent, is regularly in the Standard -ha/-(h)a: [see phonology] /-ho. The Colloquial has forms identical to the Standard except for the loss of -h-; Kabuli has only the h-less form; the others have both. Other Colloquial variants are:

Persian -e before the suffix may be dropped:
e.g. xune(h)a > xuna 'houses'.
In rapid speech, -u or -o + the -a variant may have an inserted -v- or -w-, bazu 'arm': bazuwa ~ bazuva.
In rapid speech, final -w may be dropped or replaced by -v- before the variant -a: abjow 'beer': abjoa ~ abjova.

Kabuli -i, -e: + plural > -ya: kaboli 'Kabuli': kabolya:.
-e: + plural may also have inserted -y-, > -e:ya:,
-u + plural becomes -wa:. jadu: 'sorceress' jadwa:
-o: + plural has inserted -w-. ko: 'mountain' ko:wa:

Tajik The h-less form is common to all Tajik dialects.

The plural suffix -an/-an/-on appears in the Standard varieties, with -gan/-gan/-gon regularly after -e/-a/-a. In the Colloquial, however, it is infrequent in Persian, appears only in place names in Kabuli, and does not occur at all in Varzobi. The following alternants are described for Persian: in formal speech, -van, -wan after -u: -u may become -ov before -an; -ow may become -o, -ov or remain -ow before -an.

The plural suffix -at/-a:t/-ot occurs in the Standard almost exclusively with words of Arabic origin. The alternants -jat/-ja:t/-jot and -vat/-va:t/-vot are found after some vowels. Final -e/-a/-a is dropped before the -at variant. However, even in Standard Tajik, the forms with -ot are interpreted as a lexical items separate from the singular. In the Colloquial, it is very infrequent in Persian and completely absent Kabuli and Varzobi.

The various 'broken' plural formations consisting of internal vowel and consonant alternations are found in the Standard, though, again in Tajik, these plural forms are often separate lexical items. In

the Colloquial, its frequency in Persian declines in proportion to the decrease of formality. Its absence is described for Varzobi, and it does not seem to appear in Kabuli either.

The ezafe marker, the function of which can be very generally described as the link between an attribute and its head, has the regular Standard forms in Persian and Afghan, -e after consonants, -ye after vowels; in Tajik, -i after consonants, -yi after vowels.

In the Colloquial, both Persian and Kabuli have the short variants -y after all vowels except -i (in addition to the -ye also found in the Standard). After -e, Tehrani also has an alternant -he. In Kabuli, -i and -y plus the ezafe may also become -i and -y respectively (i.e. the ezafe is phonetically zero). And like the indefinite marker, final -a + the ezafe becomes -e:. The Varzobi forms are described as identical to the Standard Tajik.

Unique to Persian Colloquial is the stressed definite suffix -e. Variants are: -e after all phonemes, especially consonants; -he often after -e and sometimes after -a, i.e. gorbehe 'the cat', aqahe 'the gentleman'; before -ro, -(h)ä is also found, and the final -e of the stem can become -ä- (see change of -e to -ä before -ra).

Pronouns

The first and second person forms are about the same for all varieties, with some differences noted below; the third person forms tend to become confused with the demonstratives, especially in Tajik. The first and second person forms are as follows:

	Persian		Afghan		Tajik	
	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl
1	män	ma	man	ma:	man	mo
2	to	šoma	to:	šoma	tu	šumo

In the colloquial dialects there is a tendency to add noun plural suffixes to the plural forms: Tehrani maha, šomaha; Varzobi moho ~ moyon ~ mohon, šumoho ~ šumoyon ~ sumohon. These pleonastic plural forms sometimes appear also in Standard Tajik.

The third person forms in Persian are u (Standard Tajik ū) 'he, she, it' and išan (Tehrani išun); in addition, the demonstratives in 'this', an 'that' and their plurals in(h)a and an(h)a are often used where the personal pronoun might be expected. This tendency toward greater use of the demonstratives has gone quite far in Tajik where ū is much less common and išan has been completely replaced by onho.

Three other points of difference are worth mentioning: Varzobi in place of ū uses vay 'he, she, it'; Kabuli for the plural uses uwa or wa (u + (h)a); and Kabuli uses an n-less form ma for the first person singular.

The suffix pronouns can be analyzed as a connective element plus the following markers:

First person	-m
Second person	-t
Third person	-š

The plurals are formed by the plural suffix -an/-an/-on, yielding first plural -man/-ma:n/-mon, second plural -tan/-ta:n/-ton, third plural -šan/-ša:n/-šon. These forms are identical in the Standard and Colloquial with the exception of the Teherani alternants in the plural with the change of -an to -un: -mun, -tun, -šun.

After consonants, for both Standard and Colloquial, the connective element is -e- or -ă- in Persian, -e- being more common in the Colloquial and -ă- more common in the Standard; -a- in Afghan; and -a- in Tajik.

After vowels, in the Standard, the forms are the same as those after consonants with an inserted -y-, e.g. first singular -yăm ~

-ye-/-yä-/-ya-.

In the Colloquial, after vowels, the connective element -ye -yä is generally dropped in Persian, leaving only the person markers, e.g. bäram 'for me'. In Varzobi, the connecting element -ya is usually dropped: pom 'my foot', růt 'your face', though occasionally it is preserved, e.g. poyam, riyat. The connective element is also dropped in Kabuli after -i. After other vowels, however, it has the form -y-, e.g. pa:ym 'my foot'.

In Kabuli and Varzobi, there are forms of the singular enclitic pronoun with the extra sound -a when they are used as objects after verbs. For example, Kabuli and Varzobi did-am-a 'he saw me'.

Demonstratives and Indefinites

Demonstratives are both pronouns and adjectives. They qualify as pronouns, since they occur in the plural. As adjectives, they belong to a class of adjectives called prenouns, which occur before the word they modify. The Standard has in 'this' and an/an/on 'that', Tajik also uses the old third singular pronoun, vay 'that', as a demonstrative pronoun and adjective as well as the third singular pronoun. In addition, it has the forms with ham-, hamin, hamon, which are also used in Varzobi as the third singular pronoun. Standard Persian occasionally uses hämin and häman as emphatic demonstratives. In the Colloquial, as noted above, Varzobi is like Standard Tajik in having hamin and hamon but also has the form havay (< ham + vay) 'that'. Tehrani uses the same forms as the Standard. In Kabuli are found a large number of demonstratives not occurring at all or in that form either in the Standard or the other Colloquials. The simple forms, i 'this' and u 'that', are very likely cognate to the Standard in and an (with change of an to un as in Tehrani) with loss of final -n. The formations of the others are based on these. e:ni and o:nu are formed by the elements e:n and o:n (probably related to in and an/un) plus i and u respectively. ami and amu are composed of the prefix am- (Standard

ham-, and therefore corresponding to Persian hāmin, hāman/hāmun) plus i and u. e:nami and o:namu are formed by the prefixing of e:n and o:n to ami and amu. The plurals (of the pronouns) are formed with the plural suffix -a: with change of preceding -i and -u to -y- and -w- respectively.

Indefinite pronouns and adjectives; (as adjectives, = prenouns as for demonstratives). The same forms are found in Persian and Afghan and to some extent in Tajik. Some of these are: Afghan kas, šaxs, a:dam, fo'la:n, 'someone' (= pronoun only); hic 'nothing, none', hame 'all'; har + a number of nouns with combined meaning 'any, anything'. koda:m 'some' (adjective only), ba'zi, 'several'; yakcand 'several'. In Tajik, however, are found forms with the prefix kim- borrowed from Uzbek: kim-ki 'someone', kim-ci 'something', kim-kadom 'something'.

Numerals

In addition to the cardinal and ordinal numbers found in all dialects, there are fractional expressions. In both Persian and Afghan, these are formed with a cardinal number expressing the numerator plus an ordinal expressing the denominator, e.g. Persian yāk bist-o pānjom 'one twenty-fifth'. In addition to the difference in order, it should be noted that the denominator is expressed by a cardinal number in Tajik and by an ordinal in the other two. All fractions may be expressed in Tajik by the construction az + denominator + numerator, both numbers being cardinals: az haft yak 'one eighth' (lit. from eight one) az haft du 'two eighths', az panj se 'three fifths'. In Tajik, however, if the fraction has a numerator of one the fraction is expressed by a single word with yak 'one' as a suffix to the cardinal e.g. seyak 'one third' (= se 'three' + -yak 'one').

Verbs

The verb consists of (1) a base expressing tense, aspect and mood, and (2) one of a set of endings which indicate person and number. The base is divided into a prefix and a stem which combined carry information of tense, aspect and mood. There are four prefixes, each of which occurs with almost every stem form. Since stem formation is somewhat too complex to be treated in a brief sentence, it will be discussed below in a separate section.

The discussion considers these verbal elements in the following order: personal endings, forms of the prefixes, stem formations, tense-mood-aspect forms.

The paradigm of personal endings is characterized by the same components of person and number as the pronouns.

Three sets of personal endings are established in all of the dialects on the basis of the tenses with which they occur. In form, however, they differ only in the third person singular. One set occurs with the tenses formed on the present stem ('present endings'); a second is used with those formed on the plain past stem ('past endings'); and the members of the third, which are for the most part identical to the enclitic forms of the present tense of the verb budan 'to be', occur with those tenses formed with the past participle, the perfect tenses ('perfect endings'). The primary difference in the forms of the endings is a function of the Standard-Colloquial distinction rather than the geographical.

The present endings are (the forms on the left-hand side of semi-colon are post-consonantal variants; those on the right-hand side are post-vocalic, unless otherwise marked):

Standard	Persian	Afghan	Tajik
1s	-äm; -yäm	-am; -yam	-am; - yam
2s	-i; -i, -yi	-i	-i; yi
3s	-äd; -yäd	-ad; -yad	-ad; -yad
1p	-im; -im, -yim	-e:m; -ye:m	-em; -yem
2p	-id; -id, -yid	-e:d; -ye:d	-ed, -eton; -yed, -edton

Standard	Persian	Afghan	Tajik
3p	-änd; -yänd	-and; -yand	-and; -yand

Colloquial	Persian	Afghan	Tajik
1s	-äm; -m	-om(ak); -yom(ak)	-am; -yam
2s	-i; -i, -y	-i	-i; -yi
3s	-e; -d	-a; -ya	-a, -ad (only in careful speech), -eton
1p	-im; -im, -ym	-e:m(ak); -ye:m(ak)	-em, -im; -yem; -yim
2p	-in, id; -in, -yn, -id, -yd	-e:n(ak); -ye:n(ak)	-e, -ed (only in careful speech) -eton, -ye; -yed, -yeton.
3p	-än, -änd; -n, /-nd	-an(ak); /-yan(ak)	-an, -and (only in careful speech); -yan

The Colloquial forms of the third singular (in Persian, the post-consonantal form) all differ from the Standard by the loss of the final -d, with the subsequent change of -ä to -e in Persian. Similarly, the third plural of the colloquials drops the final -d of the Standard. The forms with -d appear only in careful pronunciation.

In the second plural, the Persian and Afghan Colloquals show an -n in place of the Standard -d while the Tajik Colloquial (Varzobi) differs from the formal by the absence of final -d.

Another difference between the Persian Standard and Colloquial is in the postvocalic forms: where in the standard, a -y- (or -ʾ- before i) is inserted before the forms of the endings found after consonants, in the colloquial, (1) and -ä- in the ending is dropped (1s, 3s, 3p); and (2) an -i- is either changed to -y- or is preserved without an intervening -y- (2s, 1p, 2p).

The other Colloquials are like the Standard in having -y- in the postvocalic forms.

Kabuli alone has the alternative forms of the 1st singular and the plurals with the element -ak, suffixed to the regular endings (but cf. past endings of Varzobi).

The second plural -eton of Tajik (Standard and Colloquial) is used only with a plural subject. The other form, as in Persian and Afghan, can also be used with a singular subject to convey respect. In a parallel manner, the third plural is used, in all three dialects, with a singular subject to express respect for the subject.

The past endings are identical except for the third person singular which is the plain past stem for all dialects, Standard or Colloquial. Varzobi, however, has an alternative third singular form for the preterite and durative past tenses in -ak; kard-ak 'he made, did'; ne kard-ak 'he was doing, making'. Though not directly pertinent to the present study, an interesting similarity between this element -ak and the suffix appearing in the alternative present endings of Kabuli can be noted. (Lazard tentatively connects the Varzobi -ak with the diminutive -ak appearing frequently in Tajik).

The perfect endings are also identical with the post-consonantal variants of the endings with the exception of the third singular and the Kabuli first singular. The forms are:

	Standard	Colloquial
Persian	-äst	-e
Afghan	-ast	-a
Tajik	-ast	-ay

In general, the perfect endings are identical to the enclitic present of budan with the exception that after vowels the copula has the variants in the standard: Persian -yast, -st; Afghan -yast, -st; and in the colloquial; Persian -ye, -st; Afghan -ya.

In addition, the first singular in Kabuli is -am used as a copula in contrast to the -om of the other endings.

Also, in Kabuli, the present third singular of budan, ast, which is used in the present of the completive and habitual aspects (the first being the old second perfect, *rafta hast) has the common alternant -as and the rare variant -a. The latter is homophonous with the third singular of the enclitic form. The third singular

perfect can therefore be identical to the third singular of the rare completive present, which will be discussed later, e.g. perfect rafta: 3s completive present rafta ast ~ raftaas ~ rafta.

In the perfect tenses, in addition to the differences of the third singular endings, the Colloquials and Spoken Standard are all characterized by contractions of the past participle and the endings. The contrast can be most clearly seen by listing the formal and informal variants together.

	Formal Standard	Spoken Standard	Colloquial
Persian	zäde-äm	zädä:m	zädám
	zäde-i	zädi:	zädí
	zäde-äst	zädä:st	zädé, zädást
	zäde-im	zädi:m	zädím
	zäde-id	zädi:d	zädíd, zädín
	zäde-änd	zädä:nd	zädán
Afghan	zada-am		zadé:m
	zada-i		zadí
	zada-ast		zadá
	zada-e:m		zadé:m
	zada-e:d		zadé:n
	zada-and		zadán
Tajik	zada-am	zadam	zadem
	zada-i	zadai	zadi, zadai
	zada-ast	zadas(t)	zaday
	zada-em	zadem	zadem, zadaem
	zada-ed	zaded	zade(d), zadae, zadaeton, zadeton
	zada-and	zadand	zaden

In Persian and Afghan, the final stress on the contracted forms constitutes an exception to regular verb stress and represents the only difference between many of the contracted perfect forms and the corresponding forms of the preterite, e.g. Persian perfect 1s zädám - preterite zádäm; Afghan perfect 2s zadí - preterite 2s zádi. In Tajik, on the other hand, homonyms result from the contraction since the preterite endings can be stressed.

There are four verbal prefixes: mi-, be-, na-, ma-.

The first occurs in all three dialects, Standard and Colloquial, and carries a durative meaning. (For its distribution with tenses, see p. 30). mi- does not occur with the present of dašẗān/da:štan/dōštan 'to have' in any of the dialects, nor with the present of budān/budan/budan 'to be' in the Colloquial languages; the Standard languages have a formal variant of the present of budan with mi-, e.g. Persian mi-bas-am 'I am'. In Persian, mi- follows the preverbs while in Afghan, it precedes them: Persian bar-miy-a-yam, Afghan mebra:yom (< me:-bar-a:yom). Its phonological variants are:

Persian — mi- before consonant, miy- before vowel (vowel initial stems resulting from loss of initial glottal stop): mi-zān-ām, miy-ayām.
mi- can also occur before vowels in the Colloquial: mi-ayām

Afghan — me:-, and occasionally mi- (before -i- in next syllable), before consonants: me:-dad, mi-šišt.
me- before two consonants (including geminate from original single consonant: me-šna:xt, meddawom
my- before vowels: my-a:word 'he used to bring'

Tajik — me- before consonants and vowels.

be- is found normally only in Persian and Afghan. In Tajik it is used only in poetry with the imperative and subjunctive and in a few early prose works by Ayni. In spoken standard Tajik the present stems of the two verbs omadan 'come' and ovardan 'bring' have alternants with or without bi- without any apparent difference in meaning: meoram or mebiyoram 'I bring', meoyam or mebiyoyam 'I come'. In the classical language, be- is also used with the past tense to designate the momentaneity or perfective nature of an action.

The Standard languages have only the one form: Persian be-, Afghan be-. The Colloquials, however, have the following variants:

Persian
- bo- before syllables with -o- and -ow-: bo-kon, bo-row
- bi- before y-: bi-yab
- biy- before vowels (from loss of initial glottal stop): biy-a
- be- elsewhere

Afghan
- by- before vowels: bya:r
- bi- frequently before syllables with -i-: bibi
- bo- frequently before syllables with -o- and -u-; also before vowels: bo-ko:, bo-re:m.
- be- everywhere except before vowels: bebaxš
- be- and bo- both occur before two consonants: be-šna:s-om

The negative prefix nä-/na-/na- occurs in all three dialects with all tenses. Persian Colloquial has ne- before mi-. In the imperative and subjective of Persian and Afghan, however, the negative in nä-/na loses the prefix be-/bi-. In the more formal styles the imperative may take the negative prefix ma-: Persian mä-kon.

The negative verbal prefix na:/na-/na- contrasts with the nominal negative prefix Persian na-, Afghan na:-, Tajik no-.

Each verb has two stems, a present and a past. Verb tenses will be presented according to the stems on which they are formed. However, since a great many of the tenses involve the past participle, which itself is formed from the past stem with the stressed suffix -e/-a/-a, these will be grouped separately from those derived from the plain past stem.

The basic feature of the relation between the forms of the present and past stem is that the past stem always ends in -t after vowels and voiceless consonants, in -d after all other phonemes, this -t/-d being the past stem marker. The following description of the differences between the two stems assumes this final -t/-d for the past. Other features of the relationship fall into several

types: (1) past stem = present stem (plus -t/-d), (2) past stem formed by addition of -i to present stem, (3) past stem formed by addition of vowels and/or consonants to present stem, (4) present stem formed by addition of vowels and/or consonants to past stem, (5) past and present stems differ by one vowel or consonant, (6) past stem formed from present by addition of vowels and/or consonants plus change of vowel or consonant, (7) present stem formed from past in same way as (6), (8) suppletion, where the two stems have no sounds in common. Types (1) and (2) are regular and include the causatives in -an/-an/-on and -ani/-aini/-oni respectively. Type (8) is totally irregular and includes only two verbs: didan, past stem did - present stem bin 'see'; budan, past stem bud - present stem hast, negative nist.

The most striking differences between the three dialects lie in the developments in the active voice of the verbal systems. In each is found a large number of tense forms, aspects, and moods, which are both different from each other and from the older language. The following forms are common to all three (cited in the first singular):

Present Stem	Persian	Afghan	Tajik
Present	mi-zän-äm	me:-zad-om	me-zan-am
Subjunctive	be-zän-äm	be-zan-om	zan-am
Imperative	be-zän-äm	be-zan-om	zan-am
Past Stem			
Preterite	zäd-äm	zad-om	zad-am
Durative Past (= Imperfect)	mi-zäd-äm	me:-zad-om	me-zad-am
Past Participle			
Perfect	zäde-äm	zada-am	zada-am
Pre-Past	zäde bud-äm	zada bud-om	zada bud-am
Pre-Perfect	zäde bude-äm	zada buda-am	zada buda-am
Past Subjunctive	zäde baš-äm	zada ba:š-om	zada boš-am

For differences in the perfect tenses between the Standard and Colloquial, see section on endings.

Occurring in the standard languages only is a complex future formed with the present tense of the auxiliary verb xastan/xʷa:stan/xostan 'to wish, want' plus the past stem of the main verb. Persian xah-ăm zăd, Afghan xah-om zad, Tajik xoh-am zad. In the spoken languages, the present tense is generally used to express future action.

The old optative, formed in the third singular with the ending -ad/-a:d/-od and the present stem, is preserved in a few phrases only, e.g. bada bad (Afghan ba:da: ba:d, Tajik bodo bod), porsad (Afghan porsa:d, Tajik pursod) 'let him ask, may he ask'.

In addition to the subjunctive and imperative, the prefix be- was used with the preterite to express momentaneity or instantaneity of action.

Also found in the classical language, and still in use in very formal style, is the plain present stem expressing present-future action: Persian răvăd.

The set of forms described above, which will be referred to as the common core, consists of three moods: indicative, subjunctive, imperative (also called 'optative'). The optative in -ad/-a:d/-od is possibly a fourth mood; however, as it was rare even in the classical language and leaves no traces in the modern languages except in a few relic phrases, it is not necessary to give it any further consideration here.

The aspect system for this set is not well-defined but certain features indicate (1) a durative-simple opposition with the durative marked by mi-/me:-/me-, and (2) an instantaneous-simple opposition with the instantaneous marked by be-/be-/bi-. Whether the perfect tenses constitute another aspect of completed action is not clear.

In general, the innovated tenses of each dialect are less frequent than those belonging to the common core. The origins of the new forms fall into two groups: (1) derivation from the common core by recombination of already existing elements, and (2) innovations involving new auxiliary verbs.

Persian has developed the durative aspect to include three new tenses: the durative perfect, durative pre-past, and the durative pre-perfect. These are formed, analogically to the preterite-durative past (kärd-äm : mi-kärd-äm), with the prefix mi- and the forms of the simple perfect, pre-past and pre-perfect: mi-kärde-äm, mi-kärde-bud-äm, mi-kärde-bude-äm. (The durative perfect is also found in Tajik, though with different meaning; its existence in Afghan (= Colloquial) is not attested in Farhadi but is described in Dorofeeva, presumably for the Standard).

In addition, there is a new progressive aspect, consisting of three tenses, which are used to describe an action which is being performed at the time expressed by the tense of the verb: these are most easily translated by English 'be in the process of .....ing'. The verb dašt̆än 'to have' is used as an auxiliary verb. The main verb is inflected for the same person and tense, with the main verb in the mi- form and dašt̆än in the simple form. The prefix mi- takes the primary stress, and the stem of the auxiliary verb has secondary stress.

Present	dar-äm mi-räv-äm 'I am (in the process of) going'
Past	dašt-äm mi-räv-äm 'I was (in the process of) going'
Perfect	daš̆te mi-räft-e 'he has been (in the process of) going' (i.e. no longer is)

The Kabul dialect has been even more prolific in its creation of new tenses and aspects. However, with a few exceptions which will be noted below, their use is extremely limited and they do not occur in the literary language. In addition to the simple aspect, four new ones have been developed. Unlike Persian, their formation does not involve the extended use of the prefix mi-. Instead, in

all but four tenses of one of the aspects, the new forms use the new auxiliary verb, raftan 'to go'.

Because of their brevity, the labels which have been given these aspects, 'completive', 'incompletive', 'habitual', and 'durative', will be used here. However, the last two are in fact more specified forms of the first two and would more tellingly be named, respectively, 'durative-iterative completive' and 'durative-iterative incompletive'. In actual use, the plain completive and incompletive tend to replace the others which are of such low frequency as initially to be denied grammatical status by one informant.

The completive aspect is used to express the completed state of the action, which, though it may be repeated, is viewed as being finished each time. (The repetitive completed action is more the special semantic province of the habitual aspect, however). The tenses are formed with the past participle and the simple tenses of the auxiliary verb budan which correspond, in general, to the completive tenses. Four of the tenses of this aspect are found in the common core: preterite completive (= pre-past of common core) zada bud-om, perfect completive (= pre-perfect) zada bude:m, and the subjunctive completive (= past subjunctive) zada ba:š-om. The following four are unique to Kabuli:

Present	zada ast-om (past participle + independent present budan)
Future	zada me:-ba:š-om (past participle + mi- present of budan; note that this present is not used in spoken language)
Imperfect	zada me:-bud-om (past participle + imperfect (= durative past) of budan)
Imperative	zada ba:š (past participle + imperative of budan)

In addition, there are two dubitative tenses which will be discussed in a separate section on the dubitative forms since they are innovations of mood rather than of aspect and occur in all aspects.

The remaining aspects are all formed with the auxiliary verb raftan 'to go'.

The incompletive aspect is formed with the past participle of the main verb and the corresponding simple tenses of the auxiliary verb raftan with the exception of the future as there is not a future tense separate from the present-future either in this aspect, or in the durative. None of the forms are found in the common core. The primary meaning of this aspect is the expression of the unfinished state of an action. As in the completive, it may also carry the additional nuance of duration or repetition, which, however, is most specifically expressed by the durative aspect.

Present	zada me:-r-om (past participle + simple present of raftan)
Preterite	zada raft-om (past participle + preterite of raftan)
Imperfect	zada me:-raft-om (past participle + imperfect of raftan)
Subjunctive	zada bo-r-om (past participle + subjunctive of raftan)
Imperative	zada bo-ro: (past participle + imperative of raftan)
Perfect	zada rafte:m (past participle + perfect of raftan)

Besides some of the dubitative tenses, the incompletive present, preterite and imperfect are the only innovated forms which have any notable frequency.

The habitual aspect is used to denote a completed action which either took place over a period of time or was repeated. As mentioned above, it is very often replaced by the completive forms. The habitual tenses are formed with the past participle of the main verb and the corresponding 'completive' tenses of the auxiliary verb raftan.

Present	zada rafta ast-om (past participle + completive present of raftan)
Future	zada rafta me:-bas-om (past participle + completive future of raftan)
Preterite	zada rafta bud-om (past participle + completive preterite of raftan)
Imperfect	zada rafta me:-bud-om (past participle + completive imperfect of raftan)
Subjunctive	zada rafta (buda) ba:š-om (past participle + completive subjunctive or past subjunctive of raftan)

Imperative	zada rafta ba:š	(past participle + completive imperative of raftan)
Perfect	zada rafta bude:m	(past participle + completive perfect of raftan)

The durative aspect expresses the repetitive or durative character of an unfinished action. It is usually replaced, as noted above, by the incompletive aspect. The tenses are formed with the past participle of the main verb and corresponding incompletive tenses of the auxiliary verb raftan.

Present	zada rafta me:-r-om	(past participle + incompletive present of raftan)
Preterite	zada rafta raft-om	(past participle + incompletive preterite of raftan)
Imperfect	zada rafta me:-raft-om	(past participle + incomplete imperfect of raftan)
Subjunctive	zada rafta bo-r-om	(past participle + incomplete subjunctive of raftan)
Imperative	zada rafta bo-ro:	(past participle + incomplete imperative of raftan)
Perfect	zada rafta rafte:m	(past participle + incomplete perfect of raftan)

In addition to the creation of four new aspects, Kabuli developed a new dubitative mood. This is used in part to express the probability of an action, which meaning is strikingly similar to that of the Tajik suppositional. It also has the meaning of possibility of an action, in which it converges with some of the semantic characteristics of the subjunctive. It can be replaced by the corresponding subjunctive.

The two dubitative tenses are present-past and future, each of which occur in all aspects except the simple. The latter has two future dubitatives formed with the present and past stems, and no present-past dubitative.

The formation of these tenses resembles that of the literary future in its use of the auxiliary verb xa:stan. It differs in that only the third singular present xa:t (literary xwa:had) is used and the main verb is inflected for person, tense, and aspect. The main

verb is preceded by xa:t; in the complex tenses, 'main verb' generally refers to the inflected element of the main verb (i.e. auxiliary verb), but xa:t can also precede the whole verbal complex, e.g. dubitative incompletive present-past zada xa:t me:-raft-om or xa:t zada me:-raft-om. Only the first variant will be cited below. Forms in parentheses and other alternants will be explained after the listing of the forms.

Aspect	Present-Past	Future
Simple		xa:t zad-om or xa:t be-zan-om
Completive	zada (xa:t) baš-om or zada (xa:t) me:-bud-om or zada (xa:t) bud-om	zada xa:t bud-om
Incompletive	zada (xa:t) me:-raft-om	zada xa:t bo-r-om
Habitual	zada rafta (buda) (xa:t) ba:š-om or zada rafta (buda)(xa:t)(me:-) bud-om	zada rafta (buda) xa:t bud-om
Durative	zada rafta xa:t me:-raft-om	zada rafta xa:t bo-r-om

The past but not the present forms of the completive, incompletive, and habitual may occur without xa:t, in which case the forms are identical to that of the corresponding subjunctive. This situation may of course be alternatively described as the use of the subjunctive to express the dubitative; such a description is supported to some extent by the use of the subjunctive to express doubt or possibility in the other dialects and in the literary language. However, it should be borne in mind that the omission of xa:t is permitted only if the action is in the past and not when it is in the present.

Alternative forms of the completive and habitual present-past have the auxiliary verb budan in the imperfect (zada xa:t me:-bud-om) or in the preterite (zada xa:t bud-om). The latter are then identical to the corresponding dubitative futures.

An interesting case of polarity is seen in the tense formations of the dubitatives. In the completive and habitual, the main verb (underlined) of the future is in the preterite past tense: zada xa:t bud-om, zada rafta (buda) xa:t bud-om; and the main verb of one of the present-past alternants is in the subjunctive: zada (xa:t) baš-om,

zada rafta (buda) (xa:t) ba:š-om. In the incompletive and durative, on the contrary, the main verb of the future is in the subjunctive: zada xa:t bo-r-om, zada rafta xa:t bo-r-om; and the main verb of the present-past is in the imperfect past tense: zada (xa:t) me:-raft-om, zada rafta xa:t me:-raft-om. A partial explanation of this situation is undoubtedly to be found in the fact that the simple dubitative has forms with the present and past of the main verb in one tense.

The alternative forms of the habitual dubitative with buda and the parallel form in the habitual subjunctive are described as conveying a more emphatic sense of completedness.

Like Persian, Tajik has extended the durative aspect (marked by the prefix me-), though to two tenses, the perfect and subjunctive, rather than to three. The durative perfect corresponds exactly in form to the Persian durative perfect: me-karda-am. It differs in meaning, however, by being devoid of the characteristic of tense and carries only the resultative meaning (see p. 35). Unique to Tajik is the durative subjunctive which is formed with the durative prefix me- and the past subjunctive: me-xonda boš-am. In addition, Varzobi has a definite future formed with me-: me-xursod-ay 'he intends to eat'.

Both the Standard language and Varzobi have also developed two new aspects, the definite and the suppositional, the formations of which involve the use of new elements rather than the recombination of existing forms.

The definite aspect is used to describe an action in process at one particular moment. This meaning resembles closely that of the progressive aspect in Persian. The tenses are formed with the past participles of main verb plus the auxiliary verb istodan 'to stand' in various past tenses.

Present xonda istoda-am (past participle + perfect of istodan)
meaning: action being performed at the moment of the utterance.

Past	xonda istoda bud-am	(past participle + pre-past of istodan) meaning: action being performed in the past at the moment of the beginning of another action in the past.
Perfect	xonda istoda buda-am	(past participle + pre-perfect of istodan) meaning: same as either present or past definite plus the meaning of the 'non-evident' mood, (see pp. 39-40).
Subjunctive	xonda istoda bos-am	(past participle + subjunctive of istodan) meaning: action in process plus the subjunctive meanings.

(alternative statement of formation: past participle of definite = past participle of main verb + past participle of istodan. Tenses formed by past participle of definite plus the corresponding tenses of budan.)

The Varzobi forms of this aspect represent contractions of the standard forms (all dialects are characterized by contractions in the definite tenses but different types of contractions are found): the past participle of the main verb and the past participle of istodan are combined and shortened.

Present	karsodam, karsodi etc. (see section on endings)
Past	karsoda budam
Perfect	3s karsoda buday, 3p karsoda buden (this tense only recorded in third person)
Subjunctive	karsoda bosam

As noted above, Varzobi also has a future definite unique to it formed with the prefix me- and the present definite: me-karsoday (or: formed with me- + past participle of definite + enclitic present of budan). This tense is not common.

The suppositional expresses the probability of an action or supposition. Its similarity in meaning to the Kabuli dubitative which has been noted above, suggests that the suppositional be considered a new mood rather than aspect. But the grammars always treat it as an aspect, and, until further research on the matter, it will be referred to as an aspect here, since the point is not vital in the context of this study.

In the written Standard language, it is formed with the past participle in -gi and the abbreviated independent forms of the present of the auxiliary verb budan.

Present-future	me-xondagi-stam (me- + -gi participle + -stam < hastam). meaning: supposition or probability of act in present or future.
Past	xondagi-stam (-gi participle + -stam < hastam). meaning: supposition or probability of act in past.
Present Definite	xonda istodagi-stam (-gi participle of definite (= past participle of main verb + -gi participle of istodan) + -stam).

In the Spoken Standard language, however, are forms with the enclitic present of the auxiliary verb budan.

Present	me-xondagem (< xondagi + am). NB: the third singular is the same in both written and spoken: (me-) xondagi-st.
Past	xondagem (< xondagi + am)
Present Definite	xonda istodagem

Varzobi has the same forms as those of the written Standard language. The form of the Standard present-future, however, is described in Varzobi as conveying no notion of time but only of duration (i.e. aspect), with the tense determined by context.

In addition to these aspectual innovations, Tajik has developed what seems to be a new mood, the 'non-evident'. Its exact status, however, is not entirely clear, and Rastorgueva has presented two different analyses of the nature of the perfect tenses.[13] Although a solution to the problem is not at hand, the modal meaning of these tenses seems sufficiently defined and different from the meaning of the corresponding tenses of Persian and Afghan to warrant their treatment as a separate mood in this study.[14]

The primary use of this mood is to express the fact that the information about the action is indirectly known to the speaker, either from another person or as the result of logical deduction. The plain perfect itself, however, can also express its original meaning of an

action completed in the past which affects the present. In this case, the perfect functions as a tense of the indicative mood, but otherwise belongs to the 'non-evident' mood. The tense and aspect forms are:

Aspect	Tense	
Simple	Perfect	xonda-am
	Pre-perfect	xonda buda-am
Durative	Perfect	me-xonda-am
Definite	Perfect	xonda istoda buda-am

A somewhat different development in the Tajik verbal system consists of forms with the past participle plus an inflected form of one of about twenty-five auxiliary verbs. This situation seems to be intermediate between the Persian and Afghan forms with one auxiliary verb and a pure derivational process.

In summary, the major differences in verb inflection are: (1) the development in all three dialects of at least one new aspect, the durative, though with different means: in Persian and Tajik, by the extension of the use of the prefix mi-; in Afghan called the 'incompletive', by the use of a new auxiliary verb, raftan. In addition, Afghan has added a compound aspect, the 'durative' (more accurately 'habitual incompletive'), formed from the 'incompletive'. It has also enlarged its repertory of aspects by creating a 'completive' aspect based on an old alternative form of the perfect, and from the 'completive' built a fourth aspect, the 'habitual' (more accurately, 'habitual completive'); (2) in Persian: a new 'progressive' aspect of unusual formation in the inflection of both the auxiliary dastan and the main verb; (3) in Afghan: a new 'dubitative' mood, historically related to the older future; (4) in Tajik: two new aspects, the 'definite' and the 'suppositional': the first using the new auxiliary verb istodan but resembling semantically the Persian 'progressive'; the second formed with a new past participle, and similar in meaning to the Afghan 'dubitative'; (5) in Tajik: a possible new mood, the 'non-evident' or 'mediative', consisting of two tenses found in the original perfect system plus two new derived tenses.

LEXICON

A discussion of lexical differences is necessarily limited to a sample, which should suggest the nature and degree of divergence. In general, one notes that, for the Standard languages, much of the lexicon is the same, with the important exception of borrowings. In other words, the correlation of form and meaning has not changed significantly; nor has there been much coinage of new forms to cover new meanings that have come into the culture.

Sources of borrowings are quite directly determined by the foreign relations of the countries involved: Persian has borrowed largely from French, and, to a lesser degree, from English; Afghan has borrowed almost exclusively from English; and most of the Tajik loans are from Uzbek and Russian, though some of the latter may stem ultimately from French or German. For example, the word for 'police' in Persian is žandärmeri (< French gendarmerie); in Tajik, militsya (< Russian милиция); in Afghan, po:lis (< English police). One of the Persian words for 'train' in terän (< French train); the Tajik is poezd (< Russian поезд).

Differences in the Colloquials also fall into two types: new words, and increased use of one of several alternatives. The origins of the new words are not always clear but there are three possibilities: (1) a totally new coinage, (2) a borrowing from another dialect, and (3) a different use of an already existing word of phrase. The second type covers those cases in which a word or phrase 'x' has come to be used far more frequently than a word or phrase 'y' in one dialect, while 'y' is the common form in another dialect. Differences of this osrt usually do not present communication obstacles for native speakers since the alternatives do occur, though rarely, in their dialects. A student, however, is less apt to know the rare forms and could be expected to have trouble with this type of difference.

The following is a short sample of some common differences between Persian and Afghan Colloquials; only one Tajik example that seemed striking was available.

Type 1	Persian	Afghan
'street'	xiyabun (xiyaban)	sarak
'soup'	sup	šorwa:
'food'	qäza	na:n[17]
'butter'	käre	maska
'potato'	sibzämini	kaca:lu
'washroom'	däšu'i	tešna:b
'slowly'	yävaš	asta:; asta:sta:
'speak'	härf zädän[15]	gap zadan

Type 2		
'newspaper'	ruzname[16]	axbar
'lunch'	nähar	na:n-e ca:št
'to like, want to'	meyl daštän	del-et šodan
'I am hungry'	gorosn-äm-e	gošná-stom
'o'clock'	sa'ät	baja
'I don't want to trouble you'	nemixam zähmät bedäm	baret taklif xa:t šod
'No trouble'	hic zähmät (nist)	e:c taklif (ne:ss)
'name'	esm	na:m
'thank you'	mämnunäm	tašakor
'how are you?'	hal-etun ciye	ciyal da:re:n
'goodbye' (lit. God preserve (you))	xoda hafez	xoda: a:fez or baxoda: soporde:met (lit. I entrust you to God) or ba:ma:ne xoda: (lit. in God's trust)
'please (do it)'	xa:hes mikonäm (lit. I would like)	me:raba:ni kone:n (lit do the kindness)
'please (go right ahead)'	befärma'id	bofarma:ye:n Tajik marhamat

NOTES

1. A "core" Persian, or more generally, a "core" language, is that part of the grammar which is common to all dialects of the language in consideration. Its size relative to the rest of the grammar is a function of the degree of divergence between the dialects.

2. Work on this aspect of psycholinguistics has not yet progressed to that stage where useful results are available.

3. To take a made-up illustration with English facts:

   If there are two dialects, which are identical except that every p of the first dialect is matched by a t in the second dialect, this difference would not be as great an impediment to understanding between speakers of the two dialects as would a difference of the following sort: where two dialects are identical except that in the first dialect, the normal sentence order is Subject-Verb-Object, and in the second dialect, the same sentence type has the order Object-Verb-Subject. Adjustment to the second difference would no doubt require some continued effort even on the part of native speakers who have the advantages of being more familiar with the words and with the expected sequence of sentences in discourse. The fundamental point here is that the first type of difference represents a smaller linguistic element which occurs in larger and more predictable contexts while the second represents a larger element which is less bound by restrictions of occurrence, less predictable, and therefore carries a heavier burden in communication.

4. "Persian" is the term used both for all modern Iranian dialects stemming from and including Classical Persian (in turn descended more or less directly from Middle Persian), and for the particular group found within Iran. The usage, however, is generally clear from context, and where ambiguity may arise, "(Iranian) Persian" is used to specify the dialects of Iran, "Persian" alone for all the dialects.

5. As evident from the names, (Iranian) Persian is spoken in Iran, Afghan in Afghanistan, and Tajik in the Tajik SSR of the Soviet Union (or Tajikistan). The last is also found in a few enclaves in the Uzbek, Kirghiz, and Kazakh SSRs. The three countries form a band stretching from Iran in the west through Afghanistan and northward to Tajikistan. This area is bounded in the west by Iraq and Turkey; in the north by Soviet Azerbaijan, the Caspian Sea, Turkmen and Uzbek SSRs, and (north of Tajikistan) the Kazakh and Kirghiz Republics; in the east (of Tajikistan) by Sinkiang, (of Afghanistan) by Kashmir and Pakistan; in the south (of Afghanistan) by Baluchistan, (of Iran) by the Persian Gulf.

The number of speakers has not been accurately determined for any of the dialects, but the following estimates may be used as a rough indication:

Persian, 14,000,000; Afghan, 2,300,000; Tajik, 1,400,000.

6. Terms used in this description are: sociolect = style of language the use of which is determined by the sociological situation; Standard (language) = formal or literary sociolect; Colloquial (dialect) = sociolect used in ordinary, informal spoken situations.

7. Although there are a few well-known prose works, the general trend in the history of Persian literature has been to de-emphasize this style, and up to the present day, there has not been significant development of prose techniques.

8.

9.

10.

11. This discussion is restricted to word stress since information on sentence or phrase stress is not available for Tajik. In Persian and Afghan it can be noted that certain words tend to be unstressed, e.g. verbs in the main clause, especially if final. There is also some evidence for the existence of a secondary stress phoneme in these two dialects.

12. In Afghan, there is an exception to this rule in stems which end in a cluster of a stop or sibilant plus liquid or nasal; this final cluster in the pause form of such stems is broken up by an epenthetic vowel, o, if the preceding vowel is o, and e in all other cases. This epanthetic vowel is unstressed and dropped if a suffix is added to the word, e.g. féker 'thought', fekr-á 'thoughts', tóxom 'egg', tòxm-e mórğ '(chicken) egg'.

13. First in Очерки по диалектологии Vol 2 (see Bibliography, Tajik) differently in К вопросу... (Bibl. Tajik); and returning to first opinion in the third volume of her Очерки по диалектологии.

14. Lazard in "Caractères distinctifs" has suggested the name 'mediative', which seems more appropriate than any offered by Rastorgueva.

15. This form is unchanged from the older language; Afghan has innovated here.

16. ruznume is the expected Colloquial form, but the word refers to an item belonging to an "educated" area of culture and is therefore more often given the formal pronunciation.

17. nan ~ nun in Persian = 'bread'.

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4. Farhadi, Abd-ul-Ghafur. Le persan parlé en Afghanistan: Grammaire du Kaboli. Paris, 1955. 150 + 44 pp.

   A good study of Colloquial Afghan, which describes its features partly in terms of the changes they represent from Classical or Standard Persian. A long appendix provides sample texts, mainly of folk poetry.

5. Hodge, Carleton T., and Associates. Afghan Persian (preliminary draft). Washington, D. C., 1960.

   A pedagogical grammar of Colloquial Afghan. The style most of the lessons are based on seems somewhat more informal than that which Farhadi describes.

6. Kushkaki, Sabah. A dictionary of vernacular words in Persian. Syracuse, N. Y., 1958. 84 pp.

   This is a list of the Colloquial equivalents to Standard words.

Tajik

1. Lazard, Gilbert. "Caractères distinctifs de la langue tajik," BSL 52, 117-86.

   An excellent, detailed study of the features of Tajik which distinguish it from Persian. It also includes a number of references to special Afghan traits.

2. Ниёзмухаммадов, В., and Ниёзи, Ш., Грамматикаи забони тоҷикӣ, 2 volumes. Stalinabad, 1955.

   A traditional presentation of Standard Tajik in Tajik.

3. Очерки по грамматике таджикского языка, Stalinabad, 1953-4.

   I. Розенфельд, А. З., Материалы к исследованию сложносоставных глаголов в современном таджиком языке.

   III. Расторгуева, В. С., К вопросу о неочевидных или повествовательных формах таджикского языка.

   IV. Розенфельд, А. З., Глагол.

   V. Таджиев, Д. Я., Причастия в современном таджикском языке.

   VI. Неменова, Р. Л., Предлоги в таджикском языке.

   This series of studies examines in detail certain aspects of Tajik grammar. It is not a general work.

4. Rastorgueva, V. S. An Essay at Classification of Tajik Dialects. (trans, of paper delivered at XXV International Congress of Orientalists, 1960, Опит классификации таджикских говоров).

5. Расторгуева, В. С., Краткий очерк грамматика таджикского языка, (appearing in Бертельс, Таджикско-русский словарь).

6. Расторгуева, В. С., Очерки по таджикской диалектологии, 3 volumes. Moscow, 1952-6.

I. Варзобский говор таджикского языка, 1952.

A fairly detailed description of this dialect, which has been selected as representative of the Tajik Colloquial; it includes a short discussion of features in which it differs from Standard Tajik.

7. Соколова, В. С., Фонетика таджикского языка, Moscow-Leningrad, 1949. 167 pp.

An excellent, detailed study of the articulatory and acoustic properties of Tajik vowels and consonants. Most of the material is from the Varzobi dialect.

8. Бертельс, Е. Е., Таджикско-русский словарь, Moscow, 1954. 789 pp.

A dictionary of Standard Tajik with 40,000 listings.